Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, IN, US, PK

SUBJECT: U.S. ARMS SUPPLY POLICY

REF: STATE 40693

1. I BELIEVE THAT THE STATEMENT AND Q & A PREPARED FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S SPOKESMAN TODAY (REFTEL) COVER THE SITUATION VERY WELL. I STRONGLY HOPE THAT WE CAN STEER AWAY FROM ANY COMMENTS RELATING OUR POLICY CHANGE TO THE INDIAN NUCLEAR TEST LAST YEAR, AND, IF POSSIBLE, EVEN SHOOT DOWN SPECULATION OF A CONNECTION. I ALSO STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT WE NOT REPEAT NOT FOCUS ON SOVIET ARMS SALES OR ON GRECHKO'S VISIT TO INDIA IN OUR COMMENTS AT THIS TIME. BOTH THE NUCLEAR AND SOVIET ARMS ISSUES WILL ONLY HEIGHTEN INDIAN DEFENSIVENESS, LEAD THEM TO BELIEVE WE ARE IN FACT ACTING TO "BALANCE" THESE ELEMENTS BY OUR REVISED ARMS SUPPLY POLICY, AND AGGRAVATE THE INDIAN REACTION. I ALSO HOPE YOU CAN INSERT IN THE PRESS GUIDANCE A REFERENCE TO QUOTE LIMITED UNQUOTE AS AN ADJECTIVE DESCRIBING OUR ARMS SALES POLICY. THIS APPEARED IN THE GUIDANCE SENT ME FOR MY USE WITH THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AND IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE IT ON THE PUBLIC RECORD AS WELL. YOU SHOULD ALSO BE AWARE THAT INDIAN SUSPICIONS AND PRIVATE COMMENTS ARE SHARPEST ON THE SUBJECT OF THIRD COUNTRY SUPPLIES. THEY BELIEVE THAT THE PAKS WILL BE ABLE TO GET ALL KINDS OF SOPHISTICATED EQUIPMENT FROM IRAN AND OTHER ARAB STATES AT "BARGAIN BASEMENT" PRICES IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS. I AM NOT SURE HOW TO DEAL WITH THIS "ON THE RECORD" SINCE THE INDIAN BACKS WILL PROBABLY GO UP IF WE SPECIFICALLY SAY WE WILL SELL SECRET

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TO THE INDIANS ON THE SAME TERMS AS TO THE PAKISTANIS. BUT IT

IS A REAL PROBLEM AND I HOPE YOU WILL GIVE IT SOME THOUGHT. I MIGHT NOTE THAT THE INDIAN PRESS STORIES DESCRIBED LATEGKIN THE MESSAGE WHICH FOCUS ON THE WIDE RANGE OF COUNTRIES PROVIDING ARMS TO BOTH INDIA AND PAKISTAN MAY ACTUALLY STRENGTHEN OUR ARGUMENT ABOUT THE ANOMOLOUS US POSITION ON ARMS SALES IN THE PAST

- 2. THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IS STILL EXERCISING CONSTRAINT IN ITS REACTIONS PRIOR TO FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE CHANGE IN US ARMS SUPPLY POLICY. A SERIES OF INSPIRED STORIES, HOWEVER, HAVE APPEARED IN THE PRESS OVER THE LAST THREE DAYS FOCUSING ON THE FOLLOWING THEMES:
- (1) PAKISTAN HAS ALREADY BEEN GETTING ABUNDANT SUPPLIES OF WEAPONS FROM ABROAD. THESE INCLUDE SEAKING ANTI-SUB HELIO-COPTERS, FRENCH ATLANTIQUE MARITIME RECONNAISANCE UP TO 100 MIRAGE III FIGHTERS, FRENCH SUBMARINES, CHINESE HYDROFOILS, THANKS AND FIGHTERS, AND "LIKELY" CHINESE HELP IN PRODUCING SAMS
- (2) IF PAKS ALSO GAIN ACCESS TO US ARMS, AN ARMS RACE WILL BE STARTED AUTOMATICALLY AND IT WILL MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR INDIA TO ACQUIRE MORE ARMS.
- (3) INDIA IS NOT COMPLETELY DEPENDENT ON THE SOVIET FOR ARMS, AS IS SOMETIMES BELIEVED, BUT ALSO HAS AGREEMENTS WITH THE BRITISH (AIRCRAFT, FRIGATES, TANK PRODUCTION), FRENCH (HELIOCOPTERS), AND FRG (APCS). WHILE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL AND FRIENDLY IN PROVIDING ARMS, INDIANS HAVE PAID FOR EVERYTHING AND GOTTEN NOTHING ON GRANT TERMS. ONE INDIAN WIRESERVICE STORY EXPRESSED SENSITIVITY OVER TIMING OF CHANGE IN US ARMS SUPPLY POLICY WITH ARRIVAL OF GRECHKO AND EMPHASIZED GRECHKO'S VISIT WAS ARRANGED LONG AGO.
- 3. MOST INDIAN NEWSPAPERS FEBRUARY 24 LEAD WITH AN INDIAN WIRE-SERVICE STORY ALLEGING THAT THE US WAS JUSTIFYING A CHANGE IN POLICY ON THE GROUNDS OF THE INDIAN NUCLEAR TEST LAST YEAR AND THE THE US WAS VITALLY INTERESTED IN MAINTAINING THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE REGION. THE STORIES, AFTER MAKING THIS ASSERTION OFFER NO SOURCE OR FURTHER ELABOR-

AFTER MAKING THIS ASSERTION OFFER NO SOURCE OR FURTHER ELABORATION

4. NEITHER THE FOREIGN MINISTER NOR THE PRIME MINISTER HAS SECRET

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OFFERED ANY FURTHER COMMENT ON THE ARMS ISSUE SINCE THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT FEBRUARY 18. WE HAVE TWO REPORTS OF PRIVATE COMMENTS BY THE PM IN RESPONSE TO QUERIES AND ONE REPORT OF A PUBLIC COMMENT.

A) THE EDITOR OF THE MADRAS HINDU TOLD OUR CONGEN IN MADRAS FEBRUARY 19 THAT MRS. GANDHI HAD "RECENTLY" TOLD HIM SHE EXPECTED TO BE UNDER VERY STRONG PRESSURE FROM PARLIAMENT AND THE PRESS ON THE ARMS ISSUE AND THAT SHE WOULD OBVIOUSLY HAVE TO TAKE THAT

INTO ACCOUNT.

B) MRS. GANDHI TOLD A VISITING AMERICAN LAST WEEK THAT IT WAS A MATTER OF REGRET THAT THE US HAD NOT LEARNED FROM ITS EARLIER EXPERIENCE WITH YAHYA KHAN THAT IT SHOULD SUPPORT THE NATION, NOT AN INDIVIDUAL -- LIKE BHUTTO. SHE EXPRESSED REGRET OVER THE DIFFICULTIES THE US AND INDIA HAD IN UNDERSTANDING EACH OTHER, AND HOPED FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE US.

C) ASKED ABOUT US ARMS POLICY BY A NEWSMAN IN MADRAS, FEBRUARY 23, MRS. GANDHI BRUSHED HIM OFF WITH THE COMMENT "WE HAVE ALREADY EXPRESSED OUR VIEWS ON THIS."

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